2;Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.149] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

175 formed a council of elders who controlled
623 community affairs and the nomination of new officers.[15]

175 This is the system which seems to be
175 typical of Indian-Spanish towns in Middle
171 and South America.[16] It has been best characterized by Tax for Guatemala,[17]
621 where secular and religious officials are arranged in a hierarchical sequence through which every man is supposed to pass. Those who have thus fulfilled their duties toward the community enter the category of elders and form a council which holds power and controls the giving of offices.

A basic trait in the political system of the Indian village community was the close interrelation of the religious and secular aspects of town organization by having civil officers perform some religious function or by considering certain religious offices prerequisite for the civil.

175 Native religion before the Spanish con-
771 quest was based on a number of gods representing the different natural elements, economic activities, and the social groups formed by kinship and the division of labor
175 (clans, trades, towns, etc.). After the
797 Spanish conquest, Catholicism was forced on the Indians and a Catholic priesthood
[776] replaced the native one. A syncretism of the Indian gods with similar Catholic saints occurred. This replacement or fusion of Indian gods with Catholic saints and also the preservation of pagan festivals by devoting them to the saints were acknowledged and even fostered by the Spanish missionaries.

175 Every Indian community was provided
794 with a church, a priest, and a sexton. There were also two or three chanters and two *fiscales*, old men in charge of calling the Indians to religious services and instruction.[18]

175 Very important in this new religion were
796 the festivals connected with the yearly cycle of Catholic ritual. They were organized by devout individuals who took care of a particular festival and assisted the priest. Civil officers also participated.

178 Part of the native religion not related
771 to the Church rituals survived, because of the considerable community autonomy, mainly as private ceremonies or superstitions relating to technological or life cycle activities (sickness, for instance).

These aspects of unorganized religion

15. Chávez Orozco, 1943, Chapter 2.
16. For Peru, see Mishkin, 1946, 443-448.
17. Tax, 1937, especially 442-444. The question of land tenure, however, is not discussed. For this point, see Wagley, 1941, 56-66.
18. Haring, 1947, 174.

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 12-C]

161
177 tants having been wiped out entirely, or the few
[164] survivors having migrated later to larger towns.

Spanish exploitation and settlement in Michoacán slowly effected the reduction of Tarascan speech. Guzman's *entrada* (1530) left a trail of destruction and displacement of population throughout northern Michoacán. Moreover, dur-
[648] ing the exploitation of placer gold along the tributaries of the Balsas and Tepalcatepec (1524–35) Spanish miners destroyed and dislocated many Tarascans through enslavement and overwork.[20]

797 On the other hand, Franciscan and Augustinian
177 missionaries, who by the end of the 16th century
191 had established themselves in most of the large Tarascan pueblos, were strong agents of acculturation, replacing many indigenous material and

[20] The Indice de Protocolos, vol. 1 (ed. Millares Carlo and Mantecón), gives abundant evidence of the feverish gold panning operations in the Balsas and Tepalcatepec drainage from 1534 to 1826 and cites the wholesale use of Indian slave labor. Such activity probably continued until the enforcement (in the 1540's) of the New Laws, which forbade slave labor and consequently decreased the profitableness of gold washing. Furthermore, many Spanish adventurers turned from gold panning to silver mining after the discoveries in the Taxco district during the 1530's.

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 13a]

177 nonmaterial elements with European; but by per-
797 forming religious functions in Tarascan, they
191 helped to preserve, rather than destroy, the native tongue. Nor did the absentee *encomendero*, who held villages in fee in order to collect
[651] monthly or yearly tribute, disturb the native speech.

177 The permanent European settlements (mines,
191 farming, and livestock enterprises) which demanded indigenous labor were the more important
464 agents in substituting Spanish for the native
167 language. *Repartimiento* labor from northern
566 Tarasca was sent to the large silver mines in the east (Tlalpujahua, Sultepec, Temascaltepec, Zacualpan, Taxco) and in the north (Guanajuato); few pueblos in the Sierra furnished workers for these mines.[21] Such labor worked in the mines only for 1- or 2-week periods, and although the workers probably picked up some Spanish in contact with mulattoes and mestizos, they continued to use their native tongue. Free Tarascan laborers, however, migrated from their villages to distant northern mines (Zacatecas, Parral, San Luis Potosí) where they permanenty settled in native quarters and eventually lost the use of their aboriginal language.

191 Spanish settlements within the Tarascan area
177 contributed more than any other factor to the loss of the native tongue. Such settlement occurred during the 16th and 17th centuries in those lands peripheral to the Sierra, i. e., in the grassy plains and hill country to the north and east and in the *tierras templada* and *caliente* to the south. In both areas the basis of permanent Spanish settlement was stock raising. The northern section from the Otomí country near the Sierra de Ozumatlán to Mazamitla, south of Lake Chapala, was especially favorable for cattle and sheep. Large expanses of grass and scrub existed between widely scattered native villages; numerous springs and streams afforded sufficient water; while salt licks were common near mineral springs and in small *playas*. Moreover, year-round pasture occurred along the margins of lakes and marshes throughout the northern region. During the colonial period thousands of sheep and cattle were pastured in the dry season around Lake Cuitzeo, around the margins of the *ciénaga* of Zacapu, and in the

[21] Aranza, Sevina, and Tzintzuntzan were the Sierra and Lake pueblos that supplied most of the *repartimiento* mine labor from the central part of the Tarascan area during the 16th century. During the 18th and 19th centuries most of the men of Zacán worked voluntarily in the Guanajuato mines. (Zavala and Castello, 1939–46, vol. 4, pp. 426–427; vol. 6, p. 468; AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 356).

4: West K-5 (1946) 1948 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[P. 46-a]

245 *Castilla*), and the *granada de China*, and a great variety of native subtropical fruits such as the aguacate, chirimoya, guayaba, and zapote blanco. In the warmer sections of the *tierra templada* are found tropical fruits, the native mamey and zapote prieto, the Asiatic mango, Old World varieties of the banana, and the possibly native plantain.

245 177 197 The European fruits were brought into the Tarascan area early in the 16th century mainly by missionaries. Every mission, church, or convent had its small garden where the priest and Indian neophytes cared for fruit trees and vegetables. Consequently the new fruits spread rapidly among the Tarascan villages, and were soon fully accepted into the native economy. Both the Relaciones geográficas (Mus. Nac., leg. 102) and the Ponce Relación indicate the widespread cultivation of European fruits in the Tarascan area during the latter part of the 16th century. With fruit [242] cultivation the missionaries probably introduced the technique of grafting, e. g., the insertion of apple and pear cuttings into native *tejocote* to insure a hardy root system adapted to local soils and climate. Grafting is still practiced in most Tarascan villages.

245 Arboriculture among modern Tarascans consists of little more than a few fruit trees planted in the ekuáru or along hedgerows. Most trees are only semicultivated. Except for initial grafting [242] of apples and pears and the planting of shoots of other fruits, little care is taken of trees. Systematic pruning is not practiced, nor is any attempt made to control disease or insect pests.

245 438 Although in most pueblos fruit is grown chiefly for local consumption, the people of some towns specialize in raising certain fruits for export. The Sierra communities of Cumachuén and Pichátaro are the apple producers;[96] Cherán, Parangaricutiro (prior to the volcano), Tancítaro, and the *rancho* of Tenguecho specialize in pears.[97] In these towns the entire ekuáru of some households may be devoted to fruit trees, forming a small

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[439] [96] Many varieties of apples are marketed in these towns. The most popular is termed *camuesa*, a reddish fruit picked in August and September. Others, *chata*, *mariceva*, *chata de Serina* (a small crab apple), are harvested in October. In addition, the small red *morellena* is grown in Pichátaro. Apples from Cumachuén and Pichátaro are carried by *arrieros* into the *tierra caliente* as far as Petatlán on the Pacific coast of Guerrero. They are also taken to the large markets of the plateau: Zamora, Pátzcuaro, Zacapu.

[97] In 1789 pears formed one of the main industries of Capacuaro, but are now relatively unimportant (AGN Historia, vol. 73, *f.* 238). See Beals, 1946, pp. 27-28, for description of pear picking.

11: Boyd H-4, 5 (1953) 1958
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tance the Malaltzincas were granted a large area between Tacámbaro and Huetamo. The word Huetamo itself is Matlaltzinca, and there is still a "Pirinda" barrio (ward) in the town (Osborne, 1943, p. 61).

Clearly discernible are elements of Spanish Catholic acculturation in the dream portion of the legend. Also evident is the philosophical rationalization of a conquered people who had to accept and adjust to alien rule for an indefinite time into the future.

The Legend

The first morning rays illuminated the sky over Tingambato. It was the month of *duari* in the year of *ocelotl*. Three small cloudlets had just finished bathing the corpulent *ocote* trees and the sighing pines with a light rainfall.

The yellow-like dust of this land was unfertile, whereas in days long past it had been the site of great forests and immense meadows covered with exuberant vegetation, wild and fruitful. Formerly the jaguar had stalked here among the undergrowth; the timid *cú* bird had rendered his monotonously doleful notes; and, above all, the hummingbird (Tzintzún), the divine bird of the Tarascans, had sung his gorgeous melodies as if in offering to the god Curicaueri.

The day was fresh and all of nature was awakening. Over in the distance, mountain tops were running in and out of the shadows, just as in a dream of long ago hope had run its path of illusions. Camachuén was dreaming of those faraway things of the spirit, of those faraway things of love, where love was losing to hopelessness.

Camachuén (the protected of the gods), king of Tingambato, was thoughtfully walking in his garden which was filled with trees and flowers. There had been no calamity concerning his people which could be bothering him, nor was he concerned with Irichacuara, king of Pátzcuaro, with whom he had fought in times past. Furthermore, both King Characu, king of the Matlatzincas

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The dream portion in the same legend reveals the nature of the Tarascan people's subsequent acceptance of the Conquest through the successful teachings of the Catholic church.

As literature, the legends are presented in language which seems remarkably artistic and urbane for the Tarascan's menial status and lack of education in modern Mexico. However, it should be remembered that from the beginning these stories had a direct religious association and the Petamuti undoubtedly demanded rather exact adherence to theoretical norms of oral literature by the neophyte who would succeed him as the bearer and guardian of folk tradition. The conditions of their annual telling at the fiesta of *Uazeata cónscuaro* to the assembled tribe encouraged the priest to develop them into emotional, oral literature. Some of this pre-Conquest tendency has continued to the present time. Also, these legends have probably become embellished with illusions and atmospheric details by skilled narrators in historic times. This author-translator chose the most sophisticated and excitingly literary rendition available where a choice presented itself.

One of the most impressive facts about these legends, even to the non-analytical person, is the presentation of a "mood" and the changes in mood as the given story progresses. The narrator seems to live and to feel the story.

For some of these legends to have been preserved so well since the Spanish Conquest may reflect, to some extent, the relative isolation of Michoacán, but it seems more likely to indicate the importance these legends have had and still have in Tarascan life. In the present Tarascan area, nearly four hundred and fifty years of acculturation have obscured many traits of native provenience. Today's economic specialization and trade patterns are apparently based upon aboriginal conditions (West, 1948, p. 57), yet they are known to have been formalized by Europeans (Beals, 1946, p. 210). Nevertheless, the character of such things as marriage, family life, and the people's attitudes toward life's values—the real educative forces affecting the thinking and personality of Tarascans—appear to be relatively unchanged.

Despite the more recent modifications in material culture and social organization, the basic values woven into the early legends